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Chapter 4

Futuwwa in Bosnia¹

Ines Aščerić-Todd

Abstract

This article provides an overview of futuwwa tradition in Bosnia which developed there following the country's conquest by the Ottomans in the 15th century and its subsequent incorporation into the Ottoman domain as the Western-most European province of the Ottoman Empire. It assesses the extent to which the Bosnian futuwwa tradition related to and preserved the characteristics of its predecessors from the earlier periods of Islamic history, both the 'classical' futuwwa of the 11-13th centuries – as most significantly elaborated and defined in relation to Sufism first by Muhammad ibn al-Husayn al-Sulami (d. 1021) and later by Abu Hafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardi (d. 1234) – and the later futuwwa of the Anatolian Akhi brotherhoods of the 14-15th centuries.

By the middle of the 15th century, when the medieval kingdom of Bosnia was formally and finally conquered by the Ottomans², and became a small but significant frontier province of the rapidly expanding Ottoman Empire, the Anatolian Akhi brotherhoods – associations of men, mostly craftsmen, artisans and traders, bound by codes of mutual solidarity and assistance and guided by spiritual principles of *futuwwa* – which could be seen to represent the final stage in the evolution of *futuwwa* tradition, have all but disappeared³, and were soon replaced by more centralised organisations of Ottoman trade-guilds.

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, throughout this article, the term Bosnia will be used to refer to the modern geographical regions of both Bosnia and Herzegovina.

² This official conquest (by Mehmet II) took place in 1463, but there had been some form of Ottoman presence in certain areas of Bosnia before this date; see Ines Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia: Sufi Dimensions to the formation of Bosnian Muslim Society* (Leiden, 2015) Ch. 1, 31-32.

³ Though in some places they may have remained active for slightly longer; see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Ahi", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*, Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson (2013), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23942, accessed 01 September 2016.

This being the case, it seems like a rather difficult task to try and locate *futuwwa* in Bosnia, let alone place it in the context of the general *futuwwa* tradition and its historical development through the centuries: for if the last representatives of the original *futuwwa* associations, and seemingly the last formally organised institutions to adhere to *futuwwa* principles, the Akhis, effectively disappeared before Bosnia was even conquered by the Ottomans and was first exposed to Islam on any significant scale, how could have *futuwwa* tradition reached Bosnia and developed there? What shape did this tradition take, and, given the historical developments mentioned above, could there really be any discussion of ‘proper’ *futuwwa* beyond the 15th century?

The answers to these questions lie in the establishment by the Akhi corporations of a firm link between *futuwwa* and craftsmanship through their virtual insistence on all of their members engaging in a craft to earn a living.⁴ It is thanks to this link that the *futuwwa* of the Ottoman Empire – that inherited from the Akhi brotherhoods – became inseparably bound up with trade-guilds and their work ethics and rules of conduct such that when the last of the Akhi corporations were dissolved the *futuwwa* tradition did not disappear from the Ottoman lands; on the contrary, through its connection with the Ottoman trade-guilds the *futuwwa* legacy was preserved long after the disappearance of the original *futuwwa* associations of the classical Islamic period. That being said, while there are many examples of *futuwwa* treatises from the Ottoman period, or guild-related documents based on or containing aspects of *futuwwa* tradition, found in existence across the different regions and countries of the Ottoman Empire⁵, modern – chiefly, though not exclusively, Western – studies of Ottoman guilds have generally ignored such documents and have tended to deny the existence of any spiritual dimensions to Ottoman trade-guilds. Thus, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, for instance, says: “Ultimately, *ahi*

⁴ Rachel Goshgarian, “Opening and closing: coexistence and competition in associations based on *futuwwa* in late medieval Anatolia”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40/1 (2013), 51. The Akhis are not the only or the first example of the link between Sufism and craftsmanship. Melami (from Arabic *malām* and *malāma*, blame or reproach, used by certain Sufi groups who sought to be reproached for their non-conformist behaviour, as a form of concealment of their true spiritual state) orders and dervish groups, for instance, have traditionally encouraged their members to engage in crafts, for two reasons: firstly, they highly praised and therefore encouraged manual work as honest and honourable means of earning one’s living, and secondly, because of the spiritual dimensions craftsmanship is traditionally thought to possess. Lloyd Ridgeon, “Futuwwa (in Sufism)”, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*, Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson (2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27218, accessed 01 September 2016; see also Ines Aščerić-Todd, “The noble traders: the Islamic tradition of “spiritual chivalry” (*futuwwa*) in Bosnian trade-guilds (16th-19th century)”, *The Muslim World* 97/2 (2007), 164-65.

⁵ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, 93-95; for more examples of such *futuwwa* treatises see: Ali Torun, “Muhtevaları ve kaynakları itibarıyla fütüvvet-nameler”, *I. Uluslararası ahilik kültürü sempozyumu bildirileri, 13-15 Ekim 1993, Ankara* (Istanbul, 1996), 163-69. The contents of some of the principal Ottoman *futuwwa* treatises are briefly but usefully analysed in Riza Yildirim, “Shi’itisation of the *futuwwa* tradition in the fifteenth century”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40/1 (2013), 53-70.

associations became artisan guilds only, devoid of mystical identity.”⁶ Addressing this issue within the wider framework of the Ottoman Empire as a whole, or even within a single region of the Empire, would warrant a separate and a much more comprehensive study; it will, therefore, here suffice to say that the evidence available in relation to trade-guilds of a number of different Ottoman cities and regions indicates that the above view is far from justified;⁷ this evidence though is yet to be studied and given its due attention – the following pages could perhaps be considered as a small step towards such further study.

Thus, as far as Bosnia is concerned, a number of significant sources on *futuwwa* tradition there exists, the most comprehensive of them being the Travnik *fütüvvvetnâme* (one of the Ottoman terms for a *futuwwa* treatise) from the late 16th century.⁸ Although like all Bosnian *futuwwa* documents – and most of the known Ottoman ones for that matter⁹ – this treatise is mainly concerned with the application of *futuwwa* principles in the context of craftsmanship and trade-guilds, such that it contains detailed instructions on guild hierarchy, the relationship between the master and his apprentice, the appropriate business conduct and ethics, and the correct behaviour during guild ceremonies or social occasions, it is nevertheless the most general of Bosnian *futuwwa* treatises and thus the closest one to the *futuwwa* works of the earlier periods, since it also contains a fairly long section on the general history of *futuwwa*, its origins and religious basis, and a number of narratives associated with *futuwwa* ritual.¹⁰

Another fairly comprehensive *futuwwa* treatise from Bosnia is a statute of Bosnian tanners from 1656, entitled ‘*Şecere-i fütüvvvet der beyân-i erkân*’ (‘The *futuwwa* chain of authority with the aim of elucidating its masters’)¹¹, which, as its name suggests, contains a number of formal chains of authority (*secere* or *silsile*) tracing the origins of *futuwwa* and establishing the legitimacy of the Sheikh of the central tanners’ lodge in Kırşehir (in Anatolia) over all tanners of the Ottoman Empire, including, obviously, those in Bosnia. Given its

⁶ Ocak, Ahi, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23942, accessed 01 September 2016.

⁷ Some aspects of this complex issue are addressed in various sections of Part 2 of Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, particularly Ch. 4, 83-92, Ch. 7, 126-35, and Ch. 8, 136-42.

⁸ Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, PR – 2356, and Croatian Academy of Science and Art (HAZU) Archive, Oriental Collection, Ms. No. 523. The manuscript, copied in 1592, was first found in the Bosnian town of Travnik and was taken to the then Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art in Zagreb. According to the Gazi Husrev-begova copy, the treatise is authored by a certain Muhammad ibn Ebi Bekr ‘Abd ul-Kadir el-Razi, but this cannot be verified since the final section of the manuscript is missing in both this and the original copy in Zagreb (the latter was separated from its final section upon acquisition and catalogued separately, but the whereabouts of the final section still seems to be unknown). Unless otherwise indicated, all Bosnian documents on *futuwwa* are in Ottoman Turkish.

⁹ See note 5 above.

¹⁰ In respect of this section, the Travnik *fütüvvvetname* seems to most resemble Husayn Ibn Gaybi’s *fütüvvvetname*, written some time in the second half of the 15th century and considered as one of the principal Ottoman *futuwwa* treatises which served as a model for many later ones. Yildirim, “Shi‘itisation of the *futuwwa* tradition”, 63.

¹¹ Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Ms. No. 174.

character, it seems safe to assume that this was a statute composed somewhere else, most probably in Kırşehir, and its copies were then distributed to various parts of the Empire, including Bosnia.¹² The document also contains a number of sections pointing out the supremacy of tanning over other artisan professions, as well as awarding to the tanners' guild the right of supervision over eighty-six other crafts.¹³

Two further significant Bosnian *futuwwa* documents are the *futuvvetname* of Sarajevo tailors and the *pīrnāme* ('the treatise of the patron-saint', another term used for Ottoman *futuwwa*-related works which include chains of authority of *futuwwa* masters and patron-saints) of Bosnian farmers, both of which were copied in 1819 and issued, together with an *icāzetnāme* (licence certificate) to each of their respective heads of the guild, by the Sheikh of the Kırşehir *tekke* who was visiting Bosnia at the time and clearly re-asserting his supervision rights over other non-tanner guilds.¹⁴

Going back, then, to the questions asked at the outset, the answer to the first one, namely, the question of what sort of *futuwwa* tradition developed in Bosnia, could thus be given as follows: the *futuwwa* which reached Bosnia after its incorporation into the Ottoman realm was the *futuwwa* adopted and preserved by Ottoman trade-guilds, which first appeared in Bosnia together with Ottoman crafts early in the second half of the 15th century.¹⁵ As for the character of this *futuwwa* tradition, given the generally held view with regard to the relationship between Ottoman guilds and *futuwwa* outlined just above¹⁶, the question that remains to be answered is whether this guilds-related *futuwwa* was inferior to its predecessors, be it the *futuwwa* of the Akhis or that of the earlier *futuwwa* associations of the classical Islamic period; in other words, whether the *futuwwa* of Bosnian, and, for that matter, Ottoman guilds in

¹² This conclusion is supported by the existence of a seemingly identical statute for Albanian tanners from 1657. Nathalie Clayer, "Akhi-Qadiriyya", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson. (2011), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23943, accessed 06 September 2016.

¹³ For more on the Kırşehir *tekke* (lodge) and the tanners' guild in the Ottoman Empire, see Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, Ch. 7, 126-35. See also: Franz Taeschner, "Akhi Ewran", *Encyclopaedia of Islam II* (1960-2002), Vol. I, 324-25; Franz Taeschner, "Akhi Baba", *Encyclopaedia of Islam II* (1960-2002), Vol. I, 323-24; Mikail Bayram, *Tasavvufi Düşüncenin Esasları (Ahi Evren)* (Ankara, 1995); Mustafa Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları ve Bir Ahilik Belgesi* (Malatya, 1996).

¹⁴ *Futuwwa* treatise of Sarajevo tailors, Sarajevo Historical Archives, ZAT-227; *Futuwwa* statute of Bosnian farmers, Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, A-3738. Because both of these treatises were copied at the same time in 1819 and for the purposes of issuing the licence certificates to the guilds in question, in both of these cases, the treatises themselves must have been composed and existed before this date. Apart from the documents listed above, there is also a small collection of *futuwwa* treaties from Bosnia in the Turkish Manuscripts Collection of the Leiden University Library (Leiden MS Or. 12427), most of which relate to Sarajevo and its tanners, and most of which are still in need of proper examination and study.

¹⁵ For more on the development of crafts in Ottoman Bosnia see Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, Ch. 9, 143-154.

¹⁶ See note 6 above.

general, was devoid of spiritual dimensions, as is often claimed. One way of addressing this issue is to investigate how Bosnian *futuwwa* compares with the *futuwwa* tradition of the earlier periods, both in theory and practice.

To begin with, it may be noted that the theoretical basis of Bosnian *futuwwa* tradition, the *futuwwa* narrative, is the same as that of Ottoman *futuwwa* in general, preserved through the Akhis, and passed onto Ottoman guilds. The latter, in turn, does not differ much from its classical form. One of the first observations that can be made here is the importance and pre-eminence in Bosnian *futuwwa* narrative of ‘Ali ibn Abi Ṭalib, very much in line with the classical *futuwwa* of Suhrawardi¹⁷, and seemingly not in conflict with Bosnian, or, for that matter, Ottoman, strong Sunni leanings.¹⁸ Thus, as already mentioned, Bosnian most comprehensive *futuwwa* treatise found to date, the Travnik *futuvvetname* from the late 16th century¹⁹, contains several long sections on the traditional *futuwwa* narrative, which traces the origins of *futuwwa* and its principal initiation ritual, the girding of the belt, back to the Prophet Muhammad. The key role in this narrative and in the chain of transmission of *futuwwa* and its principles belongs to ‘Ali. According to the narrative, the first girding ceremony occurred during the *Mi‘rāc*, the Prophet’s Night Journey to the seven heavens, when the angel Gabriel tied a belt around the Prophet’s waist. The belt thus tied is called ‘the belt of the patron-saint’ (*‘šedd-i pir*).²⁰ The second, and, from the point of view of the transmission of *futuwwa*, as well as the establishment of the ritual of the girding of the belt, more important girding ceremony occurred in the 10th year of the Hijrah, during the Prophet’s farewell pilgrimage to Mecca. This event incorporates the hadith of the sermon at Ghadir Khumm, during which, according to the Shia interpretation of this tradition, the Prophet officially named ‘Ali his

¹⁷ It is not entirely certain where and when this pre-eminence of ‘Ali in *futuwwa* tradition first started, but Suhrawardi seems to have played an important part in it; see Lloyd Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: a History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran* (London, 2010), 66-69. See also Yildirim, “Shi‘itisation of the *futuwwa* tradition”, 55-56.

¹⁸ Although religious heterodoxy – of Bosnian Muslims in general and of Bosnian Sufism and dervish orders in particular – has on occasions been proposed as a possible factor in conversions of Bosnian Christians to Islam following the Ottoman conquest, these are usually extrapolations on the basis of other regions in the Balkans with much stronger traditions of heterodoxy and/or Shia leanings, such as, for instance, Albania, which has traditionally had a large Bektashi following. However, apart from a few Baktashi *tekkes* found in Bosnia in the early years of the Ottoman rule there, and its home-grown version of the Melami-Bayrami order, the rebellious Hamzevis, aside, both Bosnian Muslim tradition in general and Bosnian dervish orders are of largely Sunni orientation. For more on this issue see Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, generally, but especially the Introduction. Riza Yildirim’s article “Shi‘itisation of the *futuwwa* tradition” mentioned above is devoted entirely to the issue of the Shia elements in *futuwwa*, and while he does admit the presence of these elements in *futuwwa* from its very beginnings, he proposes a theory that there was a further “Shi‘itisation” of the *futuwwa* tradition in the 15th century.

¹⁹ Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, PR – 2356, and Croatian Academy of Science and Art (HAZU) Archive, Oriental Collection, Ms. No. 523. See note 8 above.

²⁰ Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, PR – 2356, fol. 3.

deputy and successor.²¹ According to the *futuvvetname*, which places this event at the heart of the spiritual basis of *futuwwa*, the ceremony of the second girding of the belt started with the Prophet's sermon and address to 'Ali, during which he named him the Commander of the Faithful ('*emīr ūl-mū'minīn*') and the Leader of the Pious ('*imām ūl-muttaḥḥīn*'). The ceremony carries on with the Prophet gradually passing onto 'Ali his ritual robes he acquired on the Night Journey during the first girding ceremony, and each segment of the ceremony is followed by a recitation of a particular prayer or a Qur'anic verse. Firstly, the Prophet places his cloak onto 'Ali's shoulders and then gives him his *futuwwa* belt. With a different invocation for each time, he ties the belt three times, which, we are told, among the followers of *futuwwa* is known as 'the seal of the belt' ('*mühr-i sedd*').²² The Prophet then ties a piece of tamarind (*şibār*) onto 'Ali's belt and addresses him in the following manner: "I have completed you. I have perfected you. I have made you my deputy ('*akhlaftuka*') and I have made you a craftsman ('*aḥraftuka*')." This is called 'the completion' ('*tekṁīl*').²³ This is followed by the ceremony of the pairing-up of the Prophet's companions, at the end of which 'Ali was paired up with the Prophet and was given the final piece of his ritual outfit, the turban. This completes the second, and most important, girding ceremony, after which the *futuvvetname* lists fifty-one names of those who were subsequently girded in the same manner and thereby became patron-saints of different crafts.²⁴

The spiritual dimension of the *futuwwa* preserved in Bosnia is further illustrated by a section found in the same treatise offering definitions of a number of spiritual components of craftsmanship and obligations of an initiate/apprentice, including questions and answers on the meaning of the external (*ẓāhiri*) and the internal (*bāṭini*) forms of worship, the meaning of the three knots on the *futuwwa* girdle, and the obligations they entail towards one's *pir*, one's father²⁵, and one's master, and a series of explanations regarding six etiquettes (*ādāb*), six components, six basic principles, and six obligations of a Sufi path, or *tariqa*, all of which define the apprentice's behaviour and the relationship between him and his master.²⁶

²¹ According to Yildirim, Ibn Gaybi's *futuvvetname* is the first instance in which the Ghadir Kumm event is included into *futuwwa* tradition and placed at the heart of its most important ritual, the girding of the belt. Yildirim, "Shi'itisation of the *futuwwa* tradition", 64. Its inclusion here can thus be explained by the fact that Ibn Gaybi's *futuvvetname* was used as a model for later *futuwwa* treatises, including, evidently, this one.

²² Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, PR – 2356, fol. 5-6.

²³ Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, PR – 2356, fol. 6.

²⁴ HAZU Archive, Oriental Collection, Ms. No. 523, fol. 5-8.

²⁵ This is a person through whom a young apprentice "pledges oath to God ('*aḥd Allāh*') (HAZU Archive, Oriental Collection, Ms. No. 523, fol. 9), and, in *futuwwa* brotherhoods, it is the person who first brings a young initiate into a brotherhood (Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, 156, n. 42).

²⁶ HAZU Archive, Oriental Collection, Ms. No. 523, fol. 9-10.

Throughout the section, these concepts and requirements are expressed as elements of *tariqa* even though they are discussed from the perspective of, and are to be applied within, trade-guilds, thus showing a firm link between the two and implying that the relationships and rules of conduct within the guilds were, originally through the intermediary of the Akhis, based upon those within Sufi orders.

Another Sufi element found in Bosnian *futuwwa* literature is the notion of ‘the four principles of *futuwwa*’, or a four-fold division of spirituality into *sharia*, *tariqa*, *ḥaqīqa* (‘the Truth’, a divine attribute) and *maʿrifa* (gnosis, inner knowledge of God). These four basic concepts of *taṣawwuf* (Sufism) are sometimes expressed through a circle metaphor: *sharia* is the circumference, the path which is travelled by ordinary Muslim worshippers, *tariqa*, used by Sufi initiates, is any of the radii leading from the circumference to the centre of the circle, which is the *ḥaqīqa*, the Truth, and *maʿrifa* is the state of gnosis, achieved by those who have reached the *ḥaqīqa*.²⁷ The notion of the four principles of *futuwwa* is found, for instance, in the *futuwwa* treatise of Sarajevo tailors, which, in the introductory section, invokes these principles in the following manner: “Peace be upon you, the people of the *sharia*, peace be upon you the people of the *tariqa*, peace be upon you the people of the *ḥakīkat*, [and] peace be upon you the people of the *maʿrifet*.”²⁸ Apart from linking these four concepts to the Prophet Idris, the patron-saint of the tailors, who is described as the “*pir* of the *pirs* of the *sharia*, *tariqa*, *hakikat* and *maʿrifet*”²⁹, the Bosnian statute does not offer an explanation of these terms or provide any further information on them. This is, however, supplied by another *futuwwa* document of textile-makers, this one composed in 17th-century Isfahan. Although originally and primarily intended for tailors, the Bosnian statute, is, in fact, also meant to apply to textile-related craftsmen in general, namely “the people of the scissors and those who use cloth-measure in their trade”³⁰, and the parallels between these two documents provide an example of the remarkable universality of some aspects of *futuwwa* and its application across centuries and different regions of the Muslim world. Thus, the Isfahan treatise gives us a bit more information on the four principles, or pillars, of *futuwwa*, and tells us that there are four *pirs* to each them: the four *pirs* of the *sharia* are Adam, Abraham, Moses and Muhammad; the four *pirs* of the

²⁷ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, 107, n. 35; see also David Waines, *An Introduction to Islam*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2004), 138, and Eric Geoffroy, *Introduction to Sufism: the Inner Path of Islam*, trans. by Roger Gaetani, (Bloomington, Ind., 2010), 59–64.

²⁸ Sarajevo Historical Archives, ZAT-227, fol. 1. See note 14 above. Similar greeting is found in the *futuwwa* statute of Bosnian farmers, in which the four components of *futuwwa* are referred to as the four ‘gateways’ (Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, A-3738).

²⁹ Sarajevo Historical Archives, ZAT-227, fol. 1.

³⁰ Sarajevo Historical Archives, ZAT-227, fol. 4.

tariqa are the angels Gabriel, Michael, Serafil and Azrael; the four *pirs* of the *haqiqa* are “the father”, “the teacher”, “the master” and “the father of the bride”; and the four *pirs* of the *ma‘rifa* are four famous Sufi poets and masters, namely, ‘Attar, Hafiz-i Shirazi, Shams-i Tabrizi, and Rumi.³¹

The linking of these four concepts of *tasawwuf* to *futuwwa* goes back to the classical *futuwwa* of Suhrawardi and the very establishment of its spiritual basis. Suhrawardi, who calls *futuwwa* the essence of the four roads of the *sharia*, the *tariqa*, the *haqiqa* and the *ma‘rifa*³², explains the link between them through an analogy of water channels and streams: the four roads are likened to four smaller streams, while *futuwwa* is a large water channel dug in order to contain the four streams and enable common people (who are, for whatever reason, unable to devote themselves to any of the four streams/roads individually) to, by drinking from it, partake in and derive blessing from each of the smaller streams. He concludes his analogy by calling *futuwwa* “the water of life”.³³ Thus, even though the Bosnian *futuwwa* of the tailors does not explain to its readership the meaning of the four-fold division of spirituality, nor its precise link with *futuwwa*, the mention of these concepts in the treatise shows a very strong legacy which the spiritual aspects of *futuwwa* of the earlier periods left on the one present in Bosnia centuries later.

In fact, the above definition of *futuwwa* by Suhrawardi provides a perfect aid to understanding the role of *futuwwa* in making the higher spiritual concepts and requirements of *tasawwuf* more accessible, and in providing a crucial link between spiritual aspirations of a *mutasawwif* (disciple) and his everyday needs for sustenance, provision of livelihood, and co-existence with his fellow men within a wider social milieu. Lloyd Ridgeon observes that, from its very beginnings, what he calls ‘Sufi-*futuwwa*’, in other words, the *futuwwa* as it emerged after its ‘reinvention’ and elaboration in the context of *tasawwuf* around the 12th century, was not a full-time occupation, and was intended as a kind of part-time Sufism, for those who were not able to devote themselves to the path of full-time spiritual endeavour.³⁴ In this were included those who worked for a living and, as long as their work was lawful, they were allowed to pursue it. Certain kinds of crafts being particularly suitable for those who also engaged in life of spiritual exercise³⁵, and some dervish groups having traditionally encouraged

³¹ Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, 128. For a definition of the term “father” see note 25 above.

³² Abu Hafs ‘Umar al-Suhrawardi, *Kitab fi’l-futuwwa*, translated in Lloyd Ridgeon, *Jawanmardi: a Sufi Code of Honour* (Edinburgh, 2011), 47.

³³ From Suhrawardi’s *Kitab fi’l-futuwwa*, in Ridgeon, *Jawanmardi*, 47-49.

³⁴ Ridgeon, *Jawanmardi*, 5, 28, 105; Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, 102.

³⁵ One craft traditionally thought to be possessed of such qualities is the tanners’: the 1656 statute of Bosnian tanners contains a section which explains how the process of tanning corresponds symbolically to the process of

engagement of their members in crafts and trades³⁶, are the two reasons why *futuwwa* was inherited by the trade-guilds, which adopted it as their guiding principle in both worldly ethics and spiritual matters, and which effectively preserved it to modern times. This being the case, one could argue that were there not this link between the trade-guilds and *futuwwa*, the latter (or, to be completely accurate, its refined, spiritual form, ‘Sufi-*futuwwa*’) would have completely disappeared by early modern period. And given the link – firmly re-established and widened thanks to *futuwwa* – between the trade-guilds and Sufi orders, one could also argue that the trade-guilds would have thus supplied not an inconsiderable number of fresh recruits to those Sufi orders to which they were particularly attached, and would have therefore taken part in proliferation of those orders and possibly even their preservation in certain areas.

Thus, instead of considering the adoption of *futuwwa* by trade-guilds as a negative development, one which lowered *futuwwa*’s spiritual content, or deprived it of it altogether, could this development be considered beneficial from at least one point of view, namely, in as much as that it in fact increased the spirituality of a wider circle of society, much as it was originally intended for *futuwwa* when it was first codified by Suhrawardi? In other words, did the *futuwwa* of the trade-guilds carry on with its role as an intermediary between the highly demanding spirituality of Sufi orders and the common people? As far as Bosnia is concerned at least, this suggestion seems plausible. Thus, even though by the time *futuwwa* had reached Bosnia this was no longer in the shape of *futuwwa* fraternities as such, some of the latter’s initiation and other rituals were adopted by Bosnian trade-guilds and there is evidence to suggest that the role of those entrusted with the spiritual aspects of the trade-guilds, outlined in the guilds’ *futuwwa* treatises, was in practice taken over by dervish orders with which particular guilds and their members were connected. There does not seem to be any evidence, theoretical or otherwise, of presence in Bosnia of the classical *futuwwa* initiation ritual involving three types of pledges, by word, by imbibing salt water, or by sword (‘*qawlī*’, ‘*shurbī*’ and ‘*sayfī*’, respectively)³⁷, but aspects of initiation into a craft, especially those concerning the relationship between a master and his apprentice, were of distinctly *futuwwa* and Sufi origin: in Bosnia, an apprentice was not allowed to begin learning his trade until he has gone through a series of rigorous initiation procedures aimed at testing his character and establishing a firm relationship

purification which a disciple’s soul undergoes during his spiritual journey, such that, in fact, practising the craft of tanning can be seen and used as an aid to the tanner’s spiritual endeavour (Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Ms. No. 174, fol. 9). Similarly, a Persian *futuwwa* treatise of the cooks offers instructions on how to approach one’s work such that it becomes a form of worship in which even the cooking utensils, if used properly, “sing praise” to God (Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, 126-27).

³⁶ See note 4 above.

³⁷ Ridgeon, *Jawanmardi*, 10, 101-102.

between him and his master, one based on trust, mutual respect, and complete submission by the apprentice to the master's will and wisdom.³⁸ This relationship between the master and his apprentice has clear echoes of that between a master and a *futuwwa* disciple described by Suhrawardi in his *Kitab fi'l-futuwwa*, a large section of which is devoted to this subject. This treatise emphasises the importance of the master-disciple relationship in terms of turning out a successful *fatā* (lit. 'a youth', a follower or possessor of *futuwwa*), and elaborates at some length the way in which this relationship is established and fostered, a lot of it being dependent upon the master's wisdom and skill in carrying out his duties (divided in the treatise into seven categories): while being strict, the master must also be patient, forgiving and, above all, generous towards his trainee.³⁹ Apart from describing craft initiation ceremonies, some Bosnian *futuwwa* treatises also give instructions as to the manner in which a tradesman is allowed to change his guild. This too is a Sufi/*futuwwa* order-inspired procedure and seemingly amounted to moving from one branch of a Sufi order to another: the procedure involved the tradesman in question being interviewed by senior members of "the tariqa", and being able to demonstrate his knowledge of five secret signs taught to him at his chapter of the guild, which would enable him to be accepted to the new chapter, and would make the tariqa obliged to find him either a senior position in the guild, or a work placement, depending on his seniority.⁴⁰

That these prescriptions were not purely theoretical, and that entering a trade-guild in Ottoman Bosnia may well have in some cases amounted to entering a particular Sufi tariqa, is confirmed by evidence which shows some of the bigger guilds in Bosnia having a strong connection with certain dervish orders. One of the most prominent examples of this is the saddlers' guild in Sarajevo which was linked to the Mevlevi order: the saddlers, who had one of the biggest and richest guilds in Sarajevo, regularly held their guild ceremonies in the Mevlevi lodge, or, in nice weather, in its garden or surrounding areas.⁴¹ This in itself does not of course mean that all Sarajevo saddlers were also Mevlevis, but the preserved registers of the

³⁸ *Futuwwa* treatise of Sarajevo tailors, Sarajevo Historical Archives, ZAT-227, fol. 2. In another treatise, the procedure of the initiation of an apprentice into a craft is described as, among other things, involving several *çiles*, periods of fasting and other types of deprivation or ritual seclusion, usually practiced as a part of an initiation process into a Sufi order (Travnik *futuvvetname*, Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, PR – 2356, fol. 7-8).

³⁹ See Suhrawardi, *Kitab fi'l-futuwwa*, in Ridgeon, *Jawanmardi*, 55-72.

⁴⁰ Travnik *futuvvetname*, Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, PR – 2356, fol. 8-10. For more on this procedure and a description of the five secret signs, see Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, 98-99. This procedure only applied to masters and journeyman, since apprentices were not allowed to leave their master before completing their training. Some of the secret signs, like the ones, for instance, concerning the manner in which to enter and leave a room, were clearly based upon the courtesies prescribed for adherents of *futuwwa* in classical *futuwwa* treatises, which contain sections on *adab*, the polite and appropriate behaviour and manners (see Suhrawardi, *Kitāb fi'l-futuwwa*, in Ridgeon, *Jawanmardi*, 73-75).

⁴¹ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, 122-123.

saddlers' guild show that a significant number of senior members of the guild and those in the guild administration were regularly members of the Mevlevi order; these include masters, assistants to the head of the guild (*yığıtbaşı*), and the guild heads (*kethüdas*).⁴² With this information in mind, the above mentioned procedures of initiation into a craft and moving from one chapter of a guild to another, can be looked at in new light: if an apprentice's master was also a Mevlevi (or other) dervish and was thus entrusted with both teaching the apprentice his craft, and instructing him on his spiritual path as a *mutasawwif*, then it is no surprise that the treatises describing these two processes should outline them side by side, and that the learning of the craft should be dependent upon the apprentice's spiritual initiation, which included ritual seclusion and fasting exercises (*ciles*). If the head of the guild and most of his assistants were members of a dervish order, as seems to have frequently been the case with the saddlers' guild, for instance, then the procedure of moving from one chapter of the guild to another described above would have clearly been applicable in practice: it is envisaged in the form of moving from one chapter of a dervish order to another, and those senior members of the guild in charge of interviewing the newcomers are referred to as "the tariqa elders".⁴³

In his comprehensive *futuwwa* treatise, *Futuwwat Nama-i Sultani*, composed in the 15th century, a Persian preacher and Sufi scholar Husayn Wa'iz Kashifi (d. 1504) describes in some detail the different kinds of *futuwwa* belts, or rather different ways of tying the *futuwwa* belt, depending on the different types of *futuwwa* followers. Kashifi's treatise being one of the first to explicitly link *futuwwa* associations with crafts, the different types of ties (*shadd*) listed there include those for physicians, for soldiers and rulers, for water carriers, and for those who use tools with a handgrip in their trade.⁴⁴ The one element that is shared between all of the ties is the fact that they all have three knots at the centre, tied in the name of 'Ali, the master and oneself.⁴⁵ These clearly symbolise the three knots which the Prophet tied on 'Ali's belt during the latter's girding ceremony, as described in the Travnik *futuvvetname*, and mentioned here earlier.⁴⁶ In the section outlining spiritual components of craftsmanship and their meanings, the same document offers further elaboration on the three *futuwwa* knots, which are there defined as being tied in the name of the *pir*, 'the father'⁴⁷, and the master, representing 'oath to the *pir*' ('*pir 'ahdi*'), 'the pledge' (*bey'at*), and 'the advice' (*vasiyet*) respectively⁴⁸, and referring to

⁴² Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, p. 123.

⁴³ Travnik *futuvvetname*, Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, PR – 2356, fol. 8.

⁴⁴ Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, p. 103-104.

⁴⁵ Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, p. 104.

⁴⁶ Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, PR – 2356, fol. 5-6.

⁴⁷ For definition of this term see note 25 above.

⁴⁸ HAZU Archive, Oriental Collection, Ms. No. 523, fol. 9.

what an apprentice either offers, in the case of the oath and the pledge, or receives, in the case of the advice, through each of the knots. In practice, although there does not seem to be any evidence as to what kind of belts were present in Bosnian guild associations, nor indeed do we know if there were different belts involved at all, the ritual bestowal of the belt, the girding ceremony, was nevertheless a crucial part of the guild organisation, and was performed at each stage of one's progression through the training: after completing their apprenticeship, apprentices would become journeymen after being ritually girded as such at a guild girding ceremony; likewise, after reaching the required level of seniority and proficiency in their trade, journeymen would become masters, and they too had to be ceremonially girded before being officially admitted to their new rank.⁴⁹ The importance of this ceremony alone is a sufficient indicator of the presence of spiritual dimensions to Bosnian *futuwwa*, but certain aspects of it provide further support to the suggestion made earlier that the adoption of *futuwwa* by Bosnian guilds facilitated their links with Sufi orders, and in some cases probably contributed to the latter's popularity and the spread of their influence among wider groups of population.

The first of these aspects is the fact that Bosnian girding ceremonies frequently took place inside or in the gardens of Sufi lodges, as was the case with those of Sarajevo saddlers, who held their ceremonies in the Mevlevi lodge. As already mentioned, in the case of the saddlers we also have evidence of the guild leadership and other senior members being Mevlevi dervishes. Even though for most other guilds we don't have such direct evidence of membership to a Sufi order⁵⁰, we know that many others also held their girding ceremonies in or around a dervish lodge. These include horse-hair weavers, grocers, barbers and blacksmiths' guilds, all of which had special connection with Sheikh 'Ali's *tekke* in Sarajevo.⁵¹ Unfortunately, no information seems to be available as yet on what Sufi order Sheikh 'Ali's *tekke* may have been affiliated to: its name suggests an early *tekke* (lodge) of the type built by individual wondering dervishes, and a possible Baktashi connection, but given that all the evidence regarding the girding ceremonies held in the *tekke* is from later periods (18th century onwards), it is highly unlikely that the *tekke* would have retained such heterodox affiliation as late as that, and it is more likely that, like many other lodges in Bosnia, it would have by then been taken over by a more mainstream and popular tariqa, such as the Naqshbandi, for instance. In any case, if the example of the saddlers is anything to go by, it seems plausible to conclude

⁴⁹ For more details on the girding ('*kuşanma*') ceremonies of Bosnian guilds and the rituals involved, see Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, 117-23.

⁵⁰ A notable exception to this being the tanners' guild: see the discussion on the tanners and the Qadiri order of dervishes which follows.

⁵¹ Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, 122.

that at least some of the guilds which were attached to this lodge would have also had links with a Sufi order – affiliated to this *tekke* or otherwise – and that some of their membership would have overlapped with that of the *tariqa* in question.

The second aspect of the girding of the belt ritual in Bosnia which shows spiritual aspects of the *futuwwa* nourished by Bosnian guilds is the fact that these ceremonies were carried out under the auspices of the Akhi-baba, the spiritual supervisor of Ottoman guilds and the sheikh of the Kırşehir *tekke*, the central lodge of the tanners' guilds of the Ottoman Empire.⁵² The Sufi affiliation of the Kırşehir *tekke* was, at least in the 17th century, to the Qadiri order, as attested by some of the tanners' guild documents from that period.⁵³

The same documents point to the existence in Bosnia of what Nathalie Clayer calls the Akhi-Qadiri branch of the Qadiri order.⁵⁴ According to Clayer, the tanners' guild statute from 1657 from the city of Elbasan in central Albania, shows that the tanners' guild of that city functioned according to the regulations of both the Akhi organisation and the Qadiri *tariqa*, and that this was the case to such an extent that it warrants considering this guild a proper, separate branch of the Qadiri order. The Elbasan document shows that the members of the Akhi-Qadiriyya guild revered both Akhi Evren, the patron-saint of the tanners and the founder of the Kırşehir *tekke*, and 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166), the founding figure of the Qadiri order of dervishes. The document explains the principles of *futuwwa* and the *tariqa* and credits 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani with being the invigorator of *futuwwa*. It further elucidates the organisational structure of the tanners' Akhi-Qadiri lodge, listing the *tekke*'s elders and those in the guild administration, as well as enumerating the sheikh's duties towards the members of the guild, many of them concerned with the spiritual dimensions of the guild and application of the rules of the *tariqa* in their conduct.⁵⁵ The contents of this document are very similar, and in places seem identical, to that of the Bosnian tanners' statute from 1656.⁵⁶ Thus, the Bosnian statute also provides the spiritual chain of authority (*silsile/secere*) of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani in which he is described as the special reviver of *futuwwa*. The document explains that a *futuwwa* chain of authority has priority over a genealogical one, or 'a chain by origin (*zerī'at*)', and that the sheikhs of the Qadiri order belong to the *futuwwa* chain. The document also lists the *tekke*/guild

⁵² See Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, Ch. 7, 126-35. For more on Akhi-baba and the Kırşehir *tekke* see also footnote 13 above.

⁵³ Statute of Bosnian tanners from 1656, Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Ms. No. 174; Statute of Albanian tanners from 1657, see Clayer, Akhi-Qadiriyya, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23943, accessed 06 September 2016.

⁵⁴ Clayer, Akhi-Qadiriyya, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23943, accessed 06 September 2016.

⁵⁵ Clayer, Akhi-Qadiriyya, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23943, accessed 06 September 2016.

⁵⁶ Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Ms. No. 174.

elders and outlines detailed rules regarding the division of raw materials, income and guild punishments. The sheikhs' duties are listed too and they are enjoined to "with the *futuwwa*, the *secere*, the noble decree (*emr-i şerif*) and the noble permit (*berāt-i şerif*) in their hands, and within the framework of the sharia and on the basis of the customs of the *tariqa* and the principles of *futuwwa*, promote the Prophetic knowledge, beat on the tambourine (*kudūm*) and the drum (*tabl*), conduct themselves and act according to the *tariqa* of the patron-saints, perform dhikr and proclaim tawhid (the formula attesting oneness of God), recite the Noble Book, and preach and advise (*va'z ve naşihat*) in the tanners' chapters in Mecca, Medina, Sham, Baghdad, Gölşehir, Istanbul, and in all [other] provinces and lands".⁵⁷ This part of the document appears identical to that in the Elbasan treatise⁵⁸, and confirms that either the latter and the Bosnian treatise are in fact copies of the same original document, or that they have their basis in the same place, an original treatise or a guild statute of the tanners, most probably those in Kırşehir, on which the tanners' guilds elsewhere modelled theirs. Either way, if we accept Clayer's conclusions regarding the tanners' guild of Elbasan, then these two documents certainly suggest the existence of the same Akhi-Qadiri order in Bosnia, or in Sarajevo at any rate. As for the possible location of the Akhi-Qadiri lodge there, this is somewhat harder to determine, for, although Sarajevo had and still has its tanners' mosque⁵⁹, there is no evidence of the existence of a tanners' *tekke* or lodge in its vicinity.⁶⁰ On the other hand, another tanners' *futuwwa* treatise composed in Sarajevo in 1620 by a certain Sheikh Muhammad el-Serif el-Hüseyni, suggests that he was the sheikh of "the central *hānekāh*" (*hanekah el-merkezī*) there⁶¹, the term usually reserved for Gazi Husrev-bey's *hanekah*, a Sufi centre built in the early 16th century for the Halveti order which did, through its history, change its Sufi affiliation a few times, but for which there is no other evidence indicating any connection with the tanners.⁶² It is, of course, possible that Sarajevo tanners and members of the Akhi-Qadiri order did indeed at some point use Gazi Husrev-bey's *hanekah* as their lodge, but until some further evidence

⁵⁷ Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Ms. No. 174, fol. 8.

⁵⁸ With seemingly slight variations in the wording of the text, and in the translation of the Ottoman: e.g. for the Elbasan treaty, Clayer translates '*va'z ve nasihat*' as 'make admonitions' (see Clayer, Akhi-Qadiriyya, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23943, accessed 06 September 2016).

⁵⁹ See Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, 132, which includes photographs of Sarajevo tanners' trading quarter and the tanners' mosque.

⁶⁰ Like many other Bosnian towns, Sarajevo did have at least two *debbāghānes* (tanneries/tanners' lodges), but these were in a completely different part of the city (see Azra Gadžo-Kasumović, "Veza esnafa u Bosni sa tekijom u Kırşehiru" ("The connection between the guilds in Bosnia and the Kırşehir *tekke*"), *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 49/1999 (Sarajevo, 2000), 115), and no information has yet been found on their activities. Either or both of these could have thus functioned as Akhi-Qadiri lodges.

⁶¹ Leiden University Library Manuscript Collection, Leiden MS Or. 12427-4, fol. 122.

⁶² For more information on Gazi Husrev-bey's *hanekah* see Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia*, 60-63.

on this comes to light, this question will have to remain open. In any case, the existence of this Akhi-Qadiri order in Bosnia provides an excellent example of that role of *futuwwa* suggested earlier as an intermediary between trade-guilds and Sufi orders, resulting in the promotion and spread of the influence of the Sufi order in question, in this case the Qadiriyya.

As transpires from everything said here, Bosnian *futuwwa* was very much in line with both the *futuwwa* of the classical Islamic period and the *futuwwa* preserved elsewhere in the Islamic world following this period. What also transpires from this is the universality which this tradition maintained throughout its existence, regardless of being spread across centuries and different continents which the Islamic world spans. It also seems justified to conclude that, at least as far as Bosnia is concerned, the association of *futuwwa* with trade-guilds was not a negative development, but, on the contrary, it served to preserve this tradition for longer than it would have otherwise been the case. Moreover, this development further served to disseminate the spiritual dimensions of Islam among wider sections of the population, and promote some Sufi orders among them, much as was intended for *futuwwa* centuries earlier by its reformer Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Suhrawardi. Although in some places, most notably Iran, the concept of *futuwwa* still persists into modern times⁶³, in Bosnia *futuwwa* finally disappeared with the complete dissolution of the trade-guilds at the turn of the 20th century, and the role of associations of men joined together by their common interest in the life of spiritual endeavour and exercise has since devolved to Sufi orders themselves.

⁶³ Albeit within a more limited field of application – see the discussion on *futuwwa* in modern Iran and its legacy in the *zūrkhāna* (wrestling arena), the traditional space for engaging in ‘manly’ sports and exercise, in Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, Ch. 6, 166-209. In the Arab world, or in Egypt at any rate, *futuwwa* has made a full circle, as it were, and preserving a connection with its mediaeval pre-Suhrawardi roots, in early modern and modern times it reverted to denoting once again urban gangster-like local ‘heroes’, vacillating between good and evil, standing up against the authorities on behalf of the common man, though not infrequently to his detriment, very much reminiscent of the members of the medieval Cairo *futuwwa* gangs. See, for instance, Sawsan El-Messiri, “The changing role of the *futuwwa* in the social structure of Cairo”, in *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, eds. Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury (London, 1977), 239-53; and Robert Irwin, “*Futuwwa*: chivalry and gangsterism in medieval Cairo”, *Muqarnas* 21/1 (2004), 162-63. On the importance of such characters and concepts of heroism and anti-heroism attached to them in the Egyptian popular culture of the 20th century, see Naguib Mahfouz’s works, in particular his *Awlad haratina* (1967, translated as *Children of Gebelawi* or *Children of the Alley*); see also P. J. Vatikiotis, “The corruption of *futuwwa*: a consideration of despair in Nagib Mahfuz’s *Awlad Haritna*”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 7/2 (1971), 169-84.

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